1: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

423 lord state, he has the right to grant fields to monasteries or to personal friends, and the right to sell or mortgage parts of the clan territory to Chinese or to monasteries.[40]

426 As an illustration the Li T'u-ssu, in 1906, being in debt, mortgaged a part of his territory near Weiyuanp'u to the Living Buddha Chang-chia [41] of the Chang-chia monastery, a piece of the Li territory in Hsiaoyang-ch'uan and another in Shuimokou, with some adjoining

425 forest. Similarly the Ch'i T'u-ssu of Nienpei sold a part of his territory to the Chinese of Kaochai in 1908. The Lu T'u-ssu, according to the family chronicles, granted land in Niut'oukou to the father-in-law of his nephew and also to one of his secretaries.

The adaptation between this theoretical absolute ownership and the rights of private property of individual members of the clan is effected through an interesting convention: the T'u-ssu never "sells" the soil to farmers; he writes a contract under which he accepts the price of the fields, just as a seller does, but in the contract the word "pass" is used instead of the word "sell." Thus he "passes" his land to be used by the farmer and his heirs in perpetuity, and endows him with the right to "pass" it over to other members of the clan. Under this convention the T'u-ssu, by accepting the price of the land, pledges that he will not interfere with the use or disposal of it.

All interests are thus reconciled and the required stability achieved. The farmer becomes a quasi owner, with all the rights of a real owner. The T'u-ssu gets the selling price of his land but continues to be recognized as the "owner" by the overlord state, and the farmers living in "his" territory remain bound to him, remain his subjects, and liable as such to corvées, to military service, and to taxes.

Often, however, I have heard the Monguors say, heaving a deep sigh, that now-a-days their T'u-ssu love money too much;

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[40] J. Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, 13, Paris, éditions Dillen, 1932, notes that in the Ordos the territory belongs to the tribe but the prince may dispose of it in order to grant a domain to one or another of his subjects, usually an important official. The territory of the tribe may not be sold, but may be rented to Chinese for farming for a time so long that it is practically equivalent to sale.

[41] The Chang-chia (lCan-skya) Hutukhtu is one of the most important Lama Buddhist "incarnations." In the eighteenth century, in the reign of the Manchu Emperor Ch'ien Lung, the incumbent of this incarnation played an important part in the translation into Mongol of Tibetan religious literature, thus furthering the Manchu policy of diverting the attention of the Mongols away from the past and toward the acceptance of religious control. See W. Heissig, *Bolur Erike*, *Monumenta Serica*, Monograph 10, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1946, especially pp. 28–30. For this reason the incarnations of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu or Living Buddha were thereafter especially favored by the Manchu dynasty and afterwards by the Chinese Republic. The Chang-chia's influence was greatest in Inner Mongolia, and he also had monasteries at Wut'aishan, a great center of Mongol pilgrimage in Shansi province in North China, in Peking, and in the Monguor country as mentioned in the text above. The present incarnation of the Chang-chia is a refugee on Formosa.—O. L. [p. 59a]

177 563 In cases where the Chinese authorities eventually deposed a T'u-ssu and took his territory and its population under direct Chinese administration, Chinese who had long been domiciled among the Monguors naturally became prominent people under the new dispensation. Thus it is plain that even though the Chinese civil officials were appointed by the T'u-ssu themselves, and not by the higher Chinese authorities, their influence promoted the process of the absorption of the Monguors by Chinese culture.

In the disintegration of the old Monguor society the personal example of the T'u-ssu themselves had a great effect. In the long period of relative peace and stability along the froniter under Manchu rule, the T'u-ssu ceased to receive fresh increments of prestige in their old capacity as military commanders and "wardens of the marches." They, therefore, naturally began to turn toward the standards of prestige accepted in the settled Chinese population. It became usual for T'u-ssu to marry the daughters of rich Chinese officials, or the half-Chinese daughters of other T'u-ssu who had married Chinese. There was thus introduced into the households of the T'u-ssu a Chinese "fine lady" point of view; these ladies despised the costume of the Monguor women as barbarous, they did not learn the Monguor language, their children received a Chinese home education and were sent to Chinese schools, and it thus became more and more common to find T'u-ssu who were unable even to speak with their subjects in their own language. Following the fashion set by their chiefs, many Monguors married the daughters of Chinese domiciled in the clan or Chinese from outside, and as this custom spread a great many Monguors in all the clans came to be ashamed of their Monguor extraction, repudiated their origin, and professed to be of Chinese origin.

177 563 426 Still another disruptive factor was that many T'u-ssu, by mortgaging parts of their territories to Chinese merchants and to lamaseries, as security for loans, lost control over the revenue from land taxes. Under these conditions they still retained the power to requisition corvée labor services; but the exercise of this power emphasized the contrast between the privileges of the chiefs and the obligations of their subjects, and weakened the bonds of loyalty that had once united the nobility and the commoners.

624 661 In the meantime, the T'u-ssu institution was also becoming corrupt from within. As the administrative system of the clan was so closely geared to the institution of the corvée, or obligatory labor and services, and military power depended on unpaid conscription, only a few officials received allocations of land, the income from which served as salary. The majority of the minor officials depended on bribery for their cash income, there being unlimited opportunities for bribery in the collection of land and other taxes in the form of gifts from families and individuals who wanted to be excused from compulsory services. Since it was profitable to hold such

and their attributions; it is identical, probably, in all 792
the monasteries of Huang-chung.

ENVIRONMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION

In order to gain an insight into the administration of a monastery, of a community of lamas, or of a college, it is not sufficient to know what officials make the wheels turn and what their respective functions are. A knowledge of the environment in which they act is also necessary. This can best be provided by examples, numbered below from 1 to 7. The intendant is ultimately the hub around which the entire administration is built.

(1). In 1914 the Lama Li, intendant of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, moved his two concubines into a nice building situated in the most remote west corner of the monastery. The three intendants of the lama community and the two colleges protested vehemently to the T'u-kuan against the impudence of the intendant and urged his dismissal, but he was only ordered to move his concubines to the "summer palace" of the Hutukhtu himself, a couple of miles distant from the monastery.

Li was a very capable man, well known all over the 792
country. He had often extricated the monastery from 426
very tight spots. A few weeks before he was given the above order, he had succeeded in sending back to Mongolia a strong group of Mongols who had been dispatched by their prince to urge the long delayed payment of an important debt contracted by one of T'u-kuan's former incarnations. For six months the Mongols had been enjoying life, eating the best food, drinking the best wine, and feeding their animals at the expense of the intendancy. They were resolved to leave the monastery only after full payment of the debt. No one had succeeded in persuading them to leave, not even by proposing to pay half of the debt at once and the remainder the following year. Intendant Li, who had been on duty in Lanchou, was finally summoned by the distressed Hutukhtu. After a few days he had succeeded so well as to make the creditors grant "reverentially" the remission of half of the debt and to make them joyfully agree to urge the payment of the remaining half by the next incarnation of T'u-kuan.

T'u-kuan was greatly indebted to his intendant for 792
the many services rendered to him, but at the same time he was unable to dismiss him for fear he would revive many old troubles and harm the monastery. The intendant was thoroughly aware of this predicament and acted impudently, breaking one of the most basic rules of the Yellow Sect, that of celibacy.

(2) A servant of the intendancy of the old and 792
venerated minor Living Buddha Li of Erh-ku-lung in- 691
advertently broke the big tea cauldron belonging to 628
the community of the lamas. The intendant of the [415]
community of lamas stirred up the turbulent lamas who urged old Li to have a new cauldron cast, but the placid

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4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

In 1914, in Nien pe, I encountered the unusual case of a lama not enlisted in any monastery, who came back from Mongolia with 40 loaded camels, to the home of his brother in Kang-tzu Valley, after a trip which had lasted for sixteen years. The shrewd lama had collected alms for himself! He died a few days after his return. His brother thereafter was a rich man.

A large capital investment is required for such expeditions. The intendancies buy all kinds of things used by the nomad Tibetans and Mongols. They carry prayer books, paintings and statues of Buddhas, spoons, wooden cups, teapots, kettles, thread of all colors, needles, boots, cotton, silk, satin, combs, tobacco, saddles from Peking, bridles, stirrups, finger and ear rings, charm boxes, toothpicks, ear probers, tweezers, prickers (necessary for the performance of the toilet), cheap synthetic jewelry, and tea.

All these things are loaded on oxen and entrusted to loyal and dependable lamas of the intendancies who set out on the journey. All along the way they sell their wares, adding to each item a scarf of felicity, blessed by their Buddha at home. The trade is carried on by barter. They accept wool, skins, yak hair, butter, sheep, cows, and horses, claiming they are collecting alms. When the animals they collect along the way become too numerous, they hire Tibetans or Mongols to help drive them. Because they get twice or thrice the cost of the wares and because labor has little value, these expeditions are really remunerative. However, if it happens that a caravan of another intendancy precedes their own, and the Tibetans or Mongols do not need anything more, then "fishing after the net is a losing business"; but according to the figures noted above, the expeditions are usually very profitable.

TAXES

At the seasonal festivals, held on the grounds of the monastery, taxes are collected by the lamas from the merchants of the city, who pitch their tents and do business on their territory, and from the Tibetans and Monguors who sell animals and their primitive homespun products.

MONEYLENDING

Lending of money at the Chinese legal rate of 30 per cent interest is the most important source of revenue for the intendancies. The lending of money is far more remunerative than the purchase of land and mortgages, which afford more security. However, the intendancies prefer the bigger interest.

Intendancies dispose of capital to secure the annual subsidy granted to the lamas, the purchase of the important quantity of butter to be burned in the temple lamps, the expenses for the purchase of all the items required for the expeditions in Mongolia, Kukunor and Ts'aidam, and the expenses of the fixed festivals held at the monasteries. Besides these the intendancies dis-

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

pose of the amount of money provided from the various sources noted in this section.

Loans are made to Monguors, Tibetans, and Chinese, to shopkeepers, merchants in the city, in fact to anyone who provides serious guarantors. Two guarantors are always required, a lama and a layman.

The Chinese who lend money at the same legal rate of 30 per cent interest are very, very rarely entirely successful in this financial operation, and they know it before they start. After the third year, when the capital is nearly recovered, troubles usually start and new provisions are accepted for a smaller interest, or the problem is brought to the Chinese court of justice, which inevitably decides in favor of the poor party. In China it is the custom for the judge to decide in favor of the borrower and for the richer party to give up some of its rights and benefits. However, the inexorability of the lamas in collecting interest is an attested fact. The proverbs and sayings all over the country go: *"Chiu ming ti k'o-wa, sha-jen ti lama,"* meaning "even merchants who are so eager for money, save the life of a miserable man, but the lamas kill him"; also, *"lama chang nan la, p'o-niang chang nan la,"* meaning "It is not easy to be indebted to a lama, not easy to be indebted to a woman," because nobody can withstand the curses of a woman or the eagerness of lamas. Lamas are noted as loan sharks all over the country.

The people approach the lamas to borrow money and grain, because the people of the country are poor and the lamas dispose of money. On the twenty-fifth of the twelfth moon, the interest is due. In the evening, on the fifth of the moon, groups of young lamas gather in all the streets of the monasteries crying at the top of their voices that the interest has to be brought in by the twenty-fifth. They continue this crying for several days. With this notice the lamas' guarantors set out to find the persons whom they have guaranteed, as well as the layman guarantors, their partners. If they cannot find the hiding debtor, then on the twenty-fifth the lama is tied and lashed with ruthless severity until he pays the debt himself. If the debtor and layman are subjects of the monastery, they undergo the same rough procedure. No mercy is shown until the last farthing is extorted. Subjects do not dare bring suit against the lamas at the Chinese courts, because they cannot stand up against such a rich and influential opponent as the intendant. The lamas try to lend, if possible, to their subjects, to subjects of other monasteries, to T'u-ssu, or rich people who can provide a serious guaranty.

In the Orient, wealth and money are the mightiest factors of influence and power. In this respect the regulations of 1723, which were aimed at undermining and undoing the influence and power of the monasteries, failed almost completely. The monasteries are still the most influential and powerful institutions in the country.

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chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of torture are still displayed at lama courts), and imprisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées. 792 175 692

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country. 792 175 425 426

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the tumult of the world, were in olden times the most animated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at the monasteries. They were attended by all the people of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun 792 175 651 427 554 443

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